

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION USNATO

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 COPENHAGEN 3333

LIMDIS

USSEC

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TAGS:PFOR, VN, US, DA

SUBJECT: PHAM VAN DONG'S VISIT: PRIME MINISTER JORGENSEN AGAIN
SUCCUMBS TO FOOT-IN-MOUTH ATTACK

REF: (A) COPENHAGEN 2791 (B) COPENHAGEN 3032

SUMMARY. IN HIS SPEECH HONORING THE VISITING VIETNAMESE
PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG, PRIME MINISTER JORGENSEN CALLED
THE US WARFARE IN VIETNAM "ATROCIOUS" AND "SENSELESS."
HE COMPARED HIS EMOTIONS UPON LEARNING OF THE VIETNAMESE
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"VICTORY"IN 1975 WITH THOSE HE EXPERIENCED WHEN DENMARK
WAS LIBERATED IN 1945. AT THE SAME TIME, HE SPOKE OF
DANISH TIES WITH THE US, "A COUNTRY WHICH WE HIGHLY
REGARD," AND THE AWFUL DILEMMA IN WHICH THE VIETNAM WAR
PLACED THE DANES. WHEN CALLED IN BY JORGENSEN'S
FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISOR TO "EXPLAIN" THE SPEECH, POL
COUNS EXPRESSED PERSONAL SURPRISE AND DISAPPOINTMENT.
ALTHOUGH JORGENSEN'S REMARKS SHOW HIS CONTINUING AND
DISTORTED PREOCCUPATION WITH VIETNAM, WE BELIEVE
THEY SHOULD PRODUCE ONLY A MINOR RIPPLE IN THE EXCEL-

LENT OVERALL DANISH-US RELATINSHIP. END SUMMARY.

1. SEPTTEL PROVIDES AN OVERVIEW OF VIETNAMESE PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG'S VISIT HERE MAY 31-JUNE 2. THE PRE-SENT MESSAGE REPORTS AN APPARENTLY REMARKABLE SPEECH BY PRIME MINISTE ANKER JORGENSEN DELIVERED AT THE DANISH GOVERNMENT'S LUNCH IN PHAM'S HONOR JUNE 1. CONCERN OVER THE EFFECT OF THIS SPEECH ON THE USG WAS UNDOUBTEDLY ONE OF THE REASONS JORGENSEN'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISOR, HENNING GOTTLIEB, CALLED IN POLCOUNS ON JUNE 3 (ALSO SEE SEPTTEL).

2. IN GENERAL, JORGENSEN'S REMARKS (COPIES OF THE FRENCH AND DANISH TEXTS ARE BEING FORWARDED TO EUR/NE) WERE AN OUT-POURING OF HIS EMPATHY FOR THE VIETNAMESE IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE. JORGENSEN RECALLED THAT THE DANES HAD SPOKEN OUT AGAINST US INTERVENTION; THAT, QUOTING A DANISH PARLIAMENTARIAN OF THAT PERIOD, THE VIETNAMESE "GOT THE WORLD'S BIGGEST WAR MACHINE STUCK IN THE QUAGMIRE OF VIETNAM." JORGENSEN CONTINUED THAT AS THE WAR ESCALATED IT BECAME MORE HORRIBLE. "MORE THAN ATROCIOUS ("ATROCE"; "GRUFULD"), THE WARFARE OF OUR ALLY WAS ALSO SENSELESS." HOWEVER, JORGENSEN SAID, "I WISH TO MAKE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT THE WAR PUT THE DANES IN AN AWFUL DILEMMA SINCE FOR MANY REASONS--
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AMONG THEM CONCERN FOR THEIR SECURITY AND LIBERTY--
DENMARK IS CLOSELY TIED TO THE US.

3. "DENMARK BELONGS TO WESTERN CIVILIZATION WHOSE MOST POWERFUL NATION IS THE UNITED STATES, A COUNTRY WHICH WE HIGHLY REGARD. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE POSITIVE ACTION OF THIS COUNTRY ALSO WILL BE OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE IN THE SOLUTION OF THE ENORMOUS PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT IN TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC AREAS WHICH FACE THE WORLD COMMUNITY." (GOTTLIEB SAID THAT THIS WAS MEANT TO SUGGEST TO THE VIETNAMESE THAT THEY NEED US ASSISTANCE AND THAT THE SHOULD ATTENUATE THEIR INTRANSIGENCE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES.)

4. JORGENSEN SAID IN HIS SPEECH THAT HE WAS GLAD THAT PHAM VAN DONG'S CONDEMNATION OF US POLICY IN VIETNAM HAD NOT INCLUDED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. "INSTEAD, YOU PRAISE PROGRESSIVE AND PEACEFUL ELEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES."

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5. THE SENTENCE OF JORGENSEN'S SHORT SPEECH THAT WAS
PERHAPS THE MOST INFELICITOUS WAS AS FOLLOWS:

"...THE END OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM PRODUCED
INFINITE RELIEF IN DENMARK. WHEN THE NEWS
REACHED DENMARK OF YOUR FINAL VICTORY IN
1975, I PERSONALLY FELT A JOY ALMOST EQUAL
TO THAT WHICH I EXPERIENCED IN 1945 WHEN
DENMARK WAS LIBERATED."

6. PHAM'S REPLY WAS AN URBANE ONE IN WHICH HE
EXPRESSED VIETNAMESE APPRECIATION FOR DANISH SUPPORT
AND DAISH RECOGNITION OF NORTH VIETNAM WHILE "THE
AGGRESSORS WERE STILL IN OUR COUNTRY." PHAM DID NOT
REFER TO THE US BY NAME. HE ALSO RECALLED ANKER
JORGENSEN'S PERSONAL INITIATIVES IN THE "VIETNAM 69"
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MOVMENT AND THE BERTRAND RUSSELL TRIBUNAL IN COPEN
HAGEN (1967) IN WHICH JORGENSEN HAD PLAYED A PROMINENT
ROLE.

7. POLCOUNS TOLD GOTTLIEB THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT,
IF ANY, REACTION WOULD BE FORTHCOMING FROM WASHINGTON.
HE COULD, HOWEVER, MAKE SOME PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS.
POLCOUNS SAID THAT HE WAS SURPRISED OVER THE PRIME
MINISTER'S PERCEIVED NEED TO REHEARS US ACTIONS IN
VIETNAM AND DANISHOPPOSITION TO THEM. AS THE PRIME
MINISTER HIMSELF REMARKED IN A SPEECH TO THE
AMERICAN CLUB ONLY TWO WEEKS AGO, "THAT IS OVER"

(REF A). POLCOUNS CONTINUED THAT THE ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND THEIR ALLIES SEEMED NEVER TO BE MENTIONED BY THE DANISH GOVERNMENT. FINALLY, HE SAID THAT UNFORTUNATE INFERENCES WERE SURE TO BE DRAWN FROM THE PRIME MINISTER'S PARALEELE BETWEEN THE "VICTORY" OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND THEIR ALLIES IN 1975 AND DENMARK'S LIBERATION FRM NAZI GERMANY IN 1945.

8. GOTTLIEB, IN RESPONSE, SAID THAT HE APPRECIATED POLCOUNS' CANDOR AND COULD "WELL UNDERSTAND" HIS REACTIONS. IT IS IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, FOR THE UNITED STATES TO APPRECIATE FULLY THE PERSONAL FEELINGS OF PRIME MINISTER JORGENSEN IN THIS CONTEXT. ALTHOUGH JORGENSEN WAS LONG AND OPENLY AN EXPONENT OF WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED THE NORTH VIETNAMESE VIEW OF THE CONFLICT IN INDO-CHINA, JORGENSEN IS ALSO A FIRM AND FAST FRIEND OF THE UNITED STATES. THIS WAS THE CRUX OF THE "DILEMMA" THAT JORGENSEN AND MANY OTHER DANES FELT DURING THE LONG CONFLICT IN INDO-CHINA. THE END OF THE CONFLICT RELEASED AN ENORMOUS BURDEN FROM THE MINDS OF MANY DANES AND IT WAS IN THIS WAY THAT THE EXPERIENCE WAS SIMILAR TO DENMARK'S LIBERATION IN 1945.
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9. GOTTLIEB ALSO RECALLED THE PARALLEL THAT THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS DREW (PROBABLY WRONGLY, SAID GOTTLIEB WHO SHOULD BE PROTECTED IN THIS REMARK) BETWEEN THE STRUGGLE OF THE THIRD WORLD TO FREE ITSELF FROM FORMER COLONIAL MASTERS AND THAT OF THE EUROPEAN WORKING CLASS IN ATTEMPTING TO ASSERT ITS IDENTITY IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY. JORGENSEN HAS NEVER DOUBTED US INTENTIONS BUT IT "HAPPENED TO CHOOSE THE SIDE THAT HISTORICALLY HAD TO LOSE." AS JORGENSEN MENTIONED IN HIS REMARKS TO PHAM VAN DONG, JORGENSEN WAS ENCOURGAGED THAT PRESIDENT CARTER RECENTLY SPOKE OUT ON THE WRONG PATH THEUNITED STATES TOOK IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

10. GOTTLIEB CONCLUDED BY NOTING THAT "UNDOUBTEDLY DISTORTED BY TELEVISION", THE IMAGINATION OF THE DANISH PEOPLE WAS CAPTURED BY THE VALOR OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND THEIR ALLIES. THE DANES IDENTIFIED WITH A PEOPLE ENGAGED IN A "SOCIAL STRUGGLE" WHICH (#) BY THE AMERICANS "A MACHINE WHICH CREATED THE IMPRESSION THAT IT HAD TO KILL 100 PEOPLE TO SAVE TEN."

NOTE BY OC/T: COPENHAGEN 3333 SECTION 3 PARA 10. (#)APPARENT OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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11. AS A TESTIMONY TO THE QUALITY OF DANISH JOURNALISM, ONLY THE LEFT-WING, INTELLECTUAL DAILY, "INFORMATION," PICKED UP AND COMMENTED ON JORGENSEN'S SPEECH. ITS JUNE 2 EDITORIAL SAID THAT IT WAS NOT UNLIKELY THAT SEVERAL OF THE NON-SOCIALIST DANISH POLITICIANS PRESENT AT THE LUNCH GAGGED ON THEIR SHRIMP COCTAILS AT JORGENSEN'S WORDS. IN THE JUDGMENT OF THE EDITORIALIST, IT IS "WISE" FOR THE DANES TO BUILD ON THEIR FRIENDSHIP WITH A COUNTRY WHICH WILL BECOME "ONE OF THE STRONGEST POWERS EAST OF SUEZ IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS."

12. COMMENT: IN PARA ONE, WE DESCRIBED PRIME MINISTER JORGENSEN'S SPEECH AS "APPARENTLY" REMARKABLE, BUT THOSE FAMILIAR WITH HIS PERSONAL CONFIDENTIAL

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IDENTIFICATION --AND PREOCCUPATION--WITH THE (NORTH) VIETNAMESE STRUGGLE MAY NOT BE TOO SURPRISED. THE VISIT WAS, AFTER ALL, JORGENSEN'S FIRST MEETING WITH THE VIETNAMESE LEADER THAT, NEXT TO HO, HAS MOST SYMBOLIZED THIS "STRUGGLE" TO THE DANES.

13. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THE JORGENSEN HAS BEEN TORN BETWEEN HIS FRIENDSHIP FOR THE US AND HIS EMOTIONAL TO HIS PERCEPTION OF THE

CUASE THE NORTH VIETNAMESE REPRESENT. HOPEFULLY,
THIS SPEECH REALLY SERVES TO CLOSE AN AGONIZING
CHAPTER IN HIS LEFE.

14. FINALLY, PHAM'S VISIT WAS PROOF TO THE DANES
THAT THEY WERE "RIGHT" ON SOUTHEAST ASIA.

15. BEFORE RETURNING TO THE US, THE AMBASSADOR ALSO
HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS HIS "DISAPPOINTMENT"
WITH THE JORGENSEN SPEECH TO A DANISH SUB-CABINET
OFFICIAL WHO REPLIED THAT HIS CHIEF DID NOT SPEAK FOR
"ALL DANES." THE AMBASSADOR ALSO POINTEDLY MENTIONED THE SPEECH
DURING A BRIEF PRE-DEPARTURE CONVERSATION WITH THE
MFA'S POLITICAL DIRECTOR.

16. JORGENSEN'S SENTIMENTS, EVEN AS EXPLAINED BY
GOTTLIEB, DO NOT REPRESENT THOSE OF MANY DANES.
EMBOFFS HAVE RECEIVED CALLS FROM TWO PARLIAMENTARIANS
REPRESENTING DIFFERENT PARTIES EXPRESSING DISMAY OVER
THE PRIME MINISTER'S REMAKRS. FURTHERMORE, JORGENSEN
WAS REPORTEDLY CRITICIZED ON THE FLOOR OF THE FOLKET-
ING JUNE 2 FOR HIS REMARKS BY A MEMBER OF GLISTRUP'S
PROGRESSIVES. WE ALSO UNDERSTAND FROM THIRD SOURCES
THAT BOTH GOTTLIEB AND MFA OFFICIALS UNSUCCESSFULLY
ATTEMPTED TO TONE DOWN JORGENSEN'S REMARKS. WE DO
NOT BELIEVE THAT JORGENSEN'S INAPPROPRIATE FORMULA-
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TIONS SHOULD PROVOKE MORE THAN AMINOR RIPPLE IN
THE EXISTING OVEALL EXCELLENT US-DANISH RELATIONS.
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